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Toward a New Historical View of Gregorian Chant

By HELMUT HUCKE

THE CURRENT UNDERSTANDING of the history of Gregorian chant was worked out mainly by the school of Solesmes and by Peter Wagner, whose *Einführung in die Gregorianischen Melodien*[1] still remains the classic work on Gregorian chant. The last edition of Wagner's book appeared from 1911 to 1921; since that time, apart from contributions to handbooks and encyclopedias, there has been only one serious general overview of Gregorian chant: that of Willi Apel.[2] And Apel, though referring to new research and offering some interesting new insights of his own and of his collaborators, acknowledged generously that Wagner "laid the foundation for so many studies of Gregorian chant, including the one presented here."[3]

I

The early course of development of Gregorian chant, as outlined mainly by the school of Solesmes and Peter Wagner, may be briefly sketched as follows. In the early centuries of Christianity a liturgical chant was developed in Italy as well as in Gaul and in Spain, on the basis of chant brought over with the liturgy itself from the Church of Jerusalem and perhaps some other churches of the Orient (for example, the Church of Antioch). The oldest source still preserved of the once common old Italian chant is the liturgical chant of Milan, the so-called "Ambrosian" chant. Thus Higini Anglès, in his contribution to the second volume of the *New Oxford History of Music*, deals with Ambrosian chant alongside Gallican and Spanish (Mozarabic) chant

[1] Peter Wagner, *Einführung in die Gregorianischen Melodien:* Vol. I, 3rd ed., Leipzig, 1911; Vol. II, 2nd ed., Leipzig, 1912; Vol. III, Leipzig, 1921. Rprt. Hildesheim, 1962. English translation of the second edition of Vol. I: *The Origin and Development of the Forms of the Liturgical Chant* (London, 1907).

[2] Willi Apel, *Gregorian Chant* (Bloomington, 1958).

[3] Apel, p. ix.

under the title "Latin Chant before St. Gregory."[4] And Bruno Stäblein's articles on chant in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* reflect a similar point of view. Through comparison of Gregorian and, of course, Ambrosian with Byzantine melodies, Egon Wellesz attempted to show that all these chants must be closely related, and must derive from a common source, which would have been the Church of Jerusalem[5]—even though Byzantine melodies have not been deciphered from sources before the end of the twelfth century, and even though we do not have Western chant books with melodies notated from before the tenth century. Other scholars have tried to demonstrate that specific Gregorian chants were derived directly from Jewish tradition, by comparing Gregorian melodies with Jewish songs collected in recent times in isolated Jewish communities. This kind of research was introduced especially by Abraham Zewi Idelsohn.[6] It has been carried on by Eric Werner.[7]

Roman chant, according to Wagner, was at first more or less identical with the chant of Milan. It was artfully transformed into Grego-

[4] Higini Anglès, "Latin Chant Before St. Gregory," *New Oxford History of Music*, Vol. II, ed. Dom Anselm Hughes, *Early Medieval Music up to 1300* (London, 1954), pp. 58–91.

[5] See, for example, Egon Wellesz, *Eastern Elements in Western Chant*, Monumenta musicae byzantinae, Subsidia, Vol. II, no. 1, American Series (Oxford, 1947), p. 126.

[6] Abraham Zewi Idelsohn, "Parallelen zwischen gregorianischen und hebräisch-orientalischen Gesangsweisen," *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, IV (1921/2), pp. 515–24.

[7] Werner's work does not stand up under scrutiny: in his article "Die jüdischen Wurzeln der christlichen Kultmusik" in Karl Gustav Fellerer, ed., *Geschichte der katholischen Kirchenmusik*, Vol. I (Kassel, 1972), p. 29, he writes that when the Jews in Blois were burned in 1171, they sang the *'alenu*. "Nachher wurde die Judenmelodie dem gregorianischen Repertoire einverleibt. Das hören wir von zwei verlässlichen jüdischen Chronisten." According to him, the melody of Sanctus IX is that of the *'alenu*. But the Jewish chroniclers do not say anything about incorporating the melody of the *'alenu* into the Gregorian repertory (see the article "*'Olenu*" in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, and Idelsohn, *Jewish Music in its Historical Development* (New York, 1929), p. 157). The melody of Sanctus IX is not transmitted in manuscripts from before the thirteenth century, and its earliest appearances are mainly in Italy and Germany: cf. Peter Josef Thannabaur, *Das einstimmige Sanctus der römischen Messe in der handschriftlichen Überlieferung des 11. bis 16. Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 1962). Werner does not mention that the melody of the *'alenu* which he quotes in connection with what happened in 1171 was transcribed by Idelsohn from a manuscript written about 1765 by Ahron Beer, chazzan in Berlin. Furthermore, Werner gives two different versions of the melody. The one in his article is identical to the version in his book *The Sacred Bridge* (London, 1959), p. 570. A second one is to be found in *The Sacred Bridge* on p. 504 (the page numbers given in his article as reference are incorrect). Both versions are different from the one given in what he identifies as his source—Idelsohn, *Jewish Music*, p. 148.

rian chant by St. Gregory and his *Schola cantorum.*[8] When chant research began, it was believed that an old chant book from the monastery of St. Gall, the manuscript St. Gall 359, was, if not the original antiphonary of St. Gregory, at least an authentic copy of the original. As early as 1851 Louis Lambilotte published a facsimile edition.[9] As far as I know, this was the very first facsimile edition of a complete musical manuscript ever published. But it became clear that Codex St. Gall 359 could not have been copied before the turn of the tenth century, and naturally there was no evidence that it was copied from St. Gregory's autograph. To retrieve the original and authentic text of the Gregorian melodies, or at least to get the oldest and best possible text, one had to collect every manuscript available, and finally prepare a critical edition of the Gregorian melodies by adapting the solid methods of classical philology. These were the aims which engendered the *Paléographie musicale* (the indispensable collection of facsimile editions published from 1889 onwards), and which motivated the attempt at a critical edition of the *Graduel romain* which has been under way at the Abbey of Solesmes since 1957.

However, there was a certain gap between this understanding of the development of chant and the results of studies of literary accounts of early Christian chant in patristic literature,[10] and a growing alienation between liturgical scholars and students of chant. What is the point of comparing a Gregorian gradual with a Jewish melody, when it is clear from patristic literature that until the fifth century the position of the gradual in the service was occupied by a different chant-form, the *psalmus responsorius?* When I attempted to classify the manners and forms of early Christian singing described in patristic literature, I obtained a picture which was at variance with the common view of chant history: I pointed out that none of the forms of Western chant can be traced back to Jewish liturgy or even to early Christian times.[11] The forms of Western chant were developed in the West, even if they were sometimes stimulated from the Orient.

[8] Wagner, I, pp. 55 ff.

[9] Louis Lambilotte, ed., *Antiphonaire de Saint-Grégoire. Facsimile du manuscrit de Saint-Gall: copie authentique de l'autographe écrite vers l'an 700* (Brussels, 1851). A second edition followed in 1865. Cf. the newer facsimile edition of the "Cantatorium de Saint-Gall" in *Paléographie musicale*, II, 2 (1924, rprt. Bern, 1968).

[10] See especially Franz Leitner, *Der gottesdienstliche Volksgesang im jüdischen und christlichen Altertum* (Freiburg, 1906); Johannes Quasten, *Musik und Gesang in den Kulten der heidnischen Antike und christlichen Frühzeit* (Münster, 1930); Helmut Leeb, *Die Psalmodie bei Ambrosius*, Wiener Beiträge zur Theologie, XVII (Vienna, 1967).

[11] Helmut Hucke, "Die Entwicklung des frühchristlichen Kultgesangs zum Gregorianischen Gesang," *Römische Quartalschrift*, XLVIII (1953), pp. 152 ff.

II

The accepted view of Gregorian chant was challenged when Bruno Stäblein, in 1950, drew attention to some Roman manuscripts from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries containing a different version of the Gregorian melodies.[12] The manuscripts had not been unknown, but Stäblein has the credit of inaugurating serious discussion of what Apel then called "the central problem of Gregorian chant."[13]

Stäblein labelled the chant of the Roman manuscripts "Old Roman chant," but I prefer to talk about the "Old Roman" (or simply "Roman") *version* of Gregorian chant, since, as a matter of fact, Old Roman chant is not a different collection of songs in a different liturgical order (like, for example, Ambrosian chant), but a different musical redaction of the same liturgical repertory. As to the origin of the two versions of Gregorian chant, Stäblein referred to a tradition traceable to the twelfth century that Pope Vitalian (657–72) "composed the chant which the Romans use today"[14] and to a list of Roman authorities who concerned themselves with the chant. This list enumerates first the Popes Damasus I (366–84), Leo I (440–61), Gelasius I (492–6), Symmachus (498–514), John I (523–6), Boniface II (530–2), Gregory I (590–604) and Martin I (649–55); and then three abbots, Catolenus, Maurianus, and Virbonus.[15] The list is transmitted in the *Ordo romanus XIX*, formerly called Ordo of the Archicantor Johannes, which Stäblein believed to be a Roman document from about 675. But according to the editor of the *Ordines romani*, Michel Andrieu, it was written down by an untrustworthy Frankish monk a hundred years later.[16] For Stäblein, the Old Roman version of the chant was the

[12] Bruno Stäblein, "Zur Frühgeschichte des römischen Chorals," *Atti del Congresso internazionale di musica sacra 1950* (Tournai, 1952), pp. 271–5; "Alt- und neurömischer Choral," *Kongressbericht, Gesellschaft für Musikforschung Lüneburg 1950* (Kassel, n.d.), pp. 53–6; "Zur Entstehung der gregorianischen Melodien," *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*, XXXV (1951), pp. 5–9; article "Choral," *MGG*, II (1952), cols. 1265–1303.

[13] Apel, "The Central Problem of Gregorian Chant," this JOURNAL, IX (1956), pp. 118–27.

[14] "Composuit cantum, quo hodie Romaini utuntur." These are the words of the first witness of the tradition, Romoald II, Archbishop of Salerno, who died in 1181 (published in Lodovico Antonio Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum scriptores*, Nuova edizione, VII, 1, rev. G. Carducci and V. Fiorini (Città di Castello, 1914), pp. 127, 31. Further testimonies of the tradition are collected by Stäblein in his introduction to *Die Gesänge des altrömischen Graduale Vat. lat. 5319*, Monumenta monodica medii aevi, II (Kassel, 1970), pp. 140*–50*.

[15] Michel Andrieu, *Les Ordines romani du haut moyen âge* (Louvain, 1931–61), Vol. III, pp. 223–4; Stäblein, *Gesänge des altrömischen Graduale*, p. 146*.

[16] Andrieu, III, pp. 6 ff.

original Gregorian chant edited by Pope Gregory the Great, and the standard version was a "New Roman chant" produced at the time of Pope Vitalian by the abbots Catolenus, Maurianus and Virbonus, whom he calls "musicians." What other reason could there be for their having been included in this list?[17] But to me the answer is not so clear. I really do not know the reason, and I am likewise uncertain about what the musical activity of Pope Vitalian may have been.[18] In any case Stäblein's theory has three fundamental weaknesses: first, the reliability of his witnesses is questionable; second, there is no evidence that their ambiguous testimony has anything to do with the two versions of Gregorian chant; third, it is not at all clear why the Romans would have wished to change their venerable tradition of chant,[19] and particularly to do so not by composing new melodies especially for the most solemn occasions, but by producing a new elaborate version of every single melody.

Josef Smits van Waesberghe and Ewald Jammers have proposed somewhat different theories. Smits van Waesberghe believed the standard version of Gregorian chant to be that of the papal court, as against the Old Roman version of the Roman city-monasteries.[20] For Jammers, the origin of the standard version would have had to do with the introduction of polyphonic performance of chant at the papal

[17] "Hinter Martin, dem letzten Papst, folgen in der Liste überraschenderweise drei Namen von Abbates, drei führenden römischen Kantoren. Die Frage lag nahe: Wenn in einer Liste, die nur Päpste aufzählt, vor Vitalian haltgemacht wird und plötzlich drei Kantoren, drei Fachmusiker erscheinen, sollten nicht diese mit der Umwandlung der Melodien in Zusammenhang stehen?" (Stäblein, *Gesänge des altrömischen Graduale*, p. 5*). "Wie man sich die Tätigkeit der drei Musiker im Einselnen vorzustellen hat, kann nur vermutet werden und lässt der Phantasie freien Spielraum" (p. 56*).

[18] Some medieval writers—Ricobaldus Gervasius from Ferrara, Martinus Polonius, Tolomeo Fiadoni, Amalricus Augerius, and Bartolomeo Platina—add: "cantum Romanum . . . organo concordavit," perhaps because they were irritated by the claims for Vitalian as against Gregory. Cf. Stäblein, *Gesänge des altrömischen Graduale*, pp. 144* ff.

[19] Stäblein tries to explain the origin of the "New Roman chant" by the tendency to growing splendor at the papal court and the need for a more international musical language of Roman liturgy: "Die Völker umgreifende Autorität des päpstlichen Rom beanspruchte einen liturgischen Gesang, der über alle lokal-provinziellen Bindungen hinausstrebte, einen Gesang, der 'vernünftiger', weniger emotional, mehr rational, verständlicher, mehr übernational und dadurch auch für die übrigen unter dem geistigen Szepter Roms vereinigten Völker des Abendlandes akzeptabel war" (*Gesänge des altrömischen Graduale*, p. 61*). But these are certainly not concepts of musical esthetics of the 7th century!

[20] Josef Smits van Waesberghe, "Neues über die Schola cantorum zu Rom," *2. Internationaler Kongress für katholische Kirchenmusik 1954* (Vienna, 1955), pp. 111–19.

court, following the example of the Byzantine court.[21] I have proposed a different view: that the standard version of Gregorian chant originated when the *cantus romanus* was introduced into the Frankish Empire by King Pepin and Charlemagne. It is the result of the adaptation of Roman chant by the Franks, a version of Roman chant created by Frankish cantors, a kind of translation of foreign music into their own musical language. It came into being not, of course, because the Franks wanted to have a different chant, but because of the difficulty of carrying an enormous musical repertory over from one culture to a very distant and different one, translating it, and establishing it there.[22] It was my suggestion that the standard version of Gregorian chant should be labelled the Frankish version, because in fact its oldest sources are of Frankish origin, and there is no evidence of the Frankish version of Gregorian chant in Rome before the eleventh century.

The discussion about the two versions of Gregorian chant has been going on for some twenty years. In a series of subsequent publications Stäblein elaborated and somewhat altered his theory, abandoning especially the assumption that the Old Roman version was St. Gregory's own redaction.[23] It seems to me that the question was settled when I was able to point out, at the Berlin Musicological Congress in 1974, that the Roman version of Gregorian chant originally did not involve the system of the eight church modes, and that the system of church modes was adopted only late and gradually into the Roman version from its Frankish counterpart.[24] As Michel Huglo has shown,[25] the system of the church modes was developed in the Frank-

[21] Ewald Jammers, *Musik in Byzanz, im päpstlichen Rom und im Frankenreich. Der Choral als Textaussprache* (Heidelberg, 1962).

[22] Hucke, "Die Einführung des Gregorianischen Gesangs im Frankenreich," *Römische Quartalschrift*, XLIX (1954), pp. 172–85; "Gregorianischer Gesang in altrömischer und fränkischer Überlieferung," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, XII (1955), pp. 74–87; "Zu einigen Problemen der Choralforschung," *Die Musikforschung*, XI (1958), especially pp. 394–414.

[23] Stäblein, "Der altrömische Choral in Oberitalien und im deutschen Süden," *Die Musikforschung*, XIX (1966), pp. 3–9; "Kann der gregorianische Choral im Frankenreich entstanden sein?", *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, XXIV (1967), pp. 153–69; "Nochmals zur angeblichen Entstehung des gregorianischen Choral im Frankenreich," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, XXVII (1970), pp. 110–21; *Gesänge des altrömischen Graduale*, pp. 3*–164*.

[24] Hucke, "Karolingische Renaissance und Gregorianischer Gesang," *Die Musikforschung*, XXVIII (1975), pp. 4–18; *ibid.*, "Die Herkunft der Kirchentonarten und die fränkische überlieferung des Gregorianischen Gesangs," Gesellschaft für Musikforschung, *Bericht über den Internationalen Musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress Berlin 1974* (Kassel, 1980), pp. 257–60.

[25] Michel Huglo, *Les Tonaires* (Paris, 1971). According to John Planer, "The Ecclesiastical Modes in the Late Eighth Century" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan,

ish Empire, and we do not have any evidence of use in Rome before the thirteenth century. Because the Frankish version of Gregorian chant is indivisibly connected with and based on the system of the church modes, this version of Gregorian chant cannot be Roman, if the church modes are Frankish.

III

The traditional historical view of Gregorian chant was further affected by new research on Ambrosian chant. As I have already pointed out, the Ambrosian melodies had been regarded as "the oldest form of plainchant."[26] According to Anglès, "Ambrosian chant, as it has come down to us, may be regarded as a fair representative of what it was at the turn of the fifth century."[27] And Bruno Stäblein even published a responsory from an Ambrosian manuscript of the twelfth century as an example of chant at the time of St. Augustine because St. Augustine once mentioned a chant with the same text![28] But we do not have sources of Ambrosian melodies from before the twelfth century. In a study of parallel pieces transmitted in both Gregorian and Ambrosian chant, I was able to show that the Ambrosian versions of these pieces are not relics of an older common "Old Italian chant," but were taken over from the Frankish version of Gregorian chant into Ambrosian chant in the Middle Ages.[29] This was confirmed by Michel Huglo,[30] who arrived at an even more specific conclusion: that the pieces of Gregorian chant adopted into the Ambrosian chant—there are about 130 in the Mass and about 230 in the Office[31]—were taken over from North Italian sources of the Frankish tradition of Gregorian chant.[32] The Ambrosian chant tradition never utilized staffless notation.[33] The written tradition of Ambrosian chant began in the twelfth century with "Ambrosian neumes" on staves, a special kind of nota-

1970), the so-called Tonary of Saint-Riquier, which Huglo believes to be the earliest source indicating the existence of the ecclesiastical modes, was written not between 795 and 800, but perhaps as late as the 10th century. If Planer is right, we would have the first evidence of the church modes from the first half of the 9th century.

[26] Wellesz, p. 126.

[27] Anglès, "Latin Chant," p. 62.

[28] Stäblein, "Frühchristliche Musik," *MGG*, IV (1955), col. 1060.

[29] Hucke, "Die gregorianische Gradualeweise des 2. Tons und ihre ambrosianischen Parallelen," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, XIII (1956), pp. 285–314.

[30] Michel Huglo, Luigi Agustoni, Eugene Cardine, Ernesto Moneta Caglio, *Fonti e paleografia del canto ambrosiano*, Archivio ambrosiano, VII (Milan, 1956).

[31] Huglo *et al.*, p. 136.

[32] Huglo *et al.*, p. 134.

[33] Huglo *et al.*, p. 34.

tion derived from the notation of North Italian sources of the Frankish version of Gregorian chant.[34] The transition from oral to written transmission entails redaction of the tradition. The development of a special notation testifies to the very conscious and systematic character of the redaction of the Ambrosian tradition in the twelfth century. The Ambrosian counterparts of Gregorian pieces should be regarded as adoptions from Gregorian sources into the singing tradition of Ambrosian chant.

IV

The relationship between St. Gregory and the corpus of melodies which bears his name had already been a critical issue in chant historiography. In 1890 F. A. Gevaert questioned whether Gregory the Great really had anything to do with Gregorian chant.[35] He believed that Gregorian chant had originally been named, not after Pope Gregory I, the Great (590–604), but after Pope Gregory II (715–31). His study initiated a long and heated discussion, and his views were generally disregarded. In the last twenty years the situation has changed. In a study in 1955 I pointed out that the connection of the name of St. Gregory the Great with chant goes back to a prologue introducing some antiphonaries from the eighth century on.[36] "Gregory"—and it remains uncertain which one—is said in that prologue to be the author of the antiphonary. But the oldest of these antiphonary manuscripts do not have musical notation, and we do not have evidence that the prologue means anything other than that Gregory was thought to be the author of the liturgical ordering, or the authority behind it. It is only in an early-ninth-century manuscript, in the Cantatorium from Monza,[37] that for the first time the book is claimed to be one of "musical art." With the conception of a liturgical book as a book of musical art, a specifically *musical* activity is attributed to its author, or to the authority who bestows his imprimatur upon it. Further evidence has been supplied by Bruno Stäblein[38] and by Leo Treitler, who traced the famous family of medieval illustrations showing St. Gregory and

[34] Huglo *et al.*, p. 35.

[35] François Auguste Gevaert, *Les origines du chant liturgique de l'église latine* (Ghent, 1890).

[36] Hucke, "Die Entstehung der Überlieferung von einer musikalischen Tätigkeit Gregors des Grossen," *Die Musikforschung*, VIII (1955), pp. 259–64.

[37] The text is published in René-Jean Hesbert, *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex* (Brussels, 1935).

[38] Stäblein, "Gregorius Praesul, der Prolog zum römischen Antiphonale," *Musik und Verlag*, ed. Carl Dahlhaus (Kassel, 1968), pp. 537–61.

the dove.[39] In the first appearances of this motive, St. Gregory is dictating his commentary on Ezekiel: the legend of Gregory as composer or collector of the Gregorian melodies was crystallized in the ninth century, and only then was the illustration given specifically musical content. Gregory the Great became the "auctoritas" for the chant which was imposed by Charlemagne on the church of his empire with the intent of achieving its ecclesiastical unification, in order to stress that the Frankish Empire was the legal successor of the Roman Empire.

V

Finally the traditional view of the early history of Gregorian chant has been shaken by studies on the notation of Gregorian chant, the neumes. It had often been remarked that there is no evidence of neumatic notation before 800. Through the studies of Solange Corbin[40] it has become evident that the neumes are of Carolingian origin. They were developed in France in the ninth century, possibly under Byzantine influence, in the course of the adaptation and theoretical appropriation of the chant repertory by the Franks. Hardly more than a dozen examples of neumatic notation from the ninth century are known, and these are all examples in which only individual pieces within manuscripts of different kind were provided with neumes.[41] There are different kinds of neumatic notation even in the ninth century; the different regional paleographic styles go back to the very beginning of neume notation. Perhaps neumes were developed and used at first for theoretical demonstrations, and only occasionally employed to notate a particular melody or to give a musical explanation here or there in a parchment manuscript.

Solange Corbin's conclusions have been questioned especially by Ewald Jammers[42] and Constantin Floros.[43] Floros argues that the de-

[39] Leo Treitler, "Homer and Gregory: The Transmission of Epic Poetry and Plainchant," *The Musical Quarterly*, LX (1974), pp. 333–72.

[40] Solange Corbin, "Les notations neumatiques en France à l'époque carolingienne," *Revue d'histoire de l'église en France*, XXXVIII (1953), pp. 225–32; *L'église à la conquête de sa musique* (Paris, 1960), pp. 258 ff.; *Die Neumen*, Palaeographie der Musik, I, 3 (Cologne, 1977).

[41] See Corbin, *Die Neumen*, pp. 3.21–3.41.

[42] Jammers, *Tafeln zur Neumenschrift* (Tutzing, 1965), pp. 27 ff., but without any argument.

[43] Constantin Floros, *Universale Neumenkunde*, 3 vols. (Kassel, 1970), II, pp. 232 ff. With regard to Floros's book, cf. Max Haas, "Probleme einer 'Universalen Neumenkunde'," *Forum musicologicum*, Basler Studien zur Musikgeschichte, I (Bern, 1975), pp. 305–22.

velopment of neumes must have taken place at least one to two centuries before the earliest surviving sources, that they are of Byzantine origin, and that they were first used in Rome. But there is other evidence that the neumes were originally developed and used not in Rome but in the Frankish Empire: in the manuscripts of the Old Roman version of Gregorian chant,[44] the oldest of them being the so-called Gradual of Santa Cecilia di Trastevere in Rome (1071),[45] the scribes employed Beneventanian neumes.[46] This type of notation is derived from Frankish notation. If the Romans had had an adequate notation of their own, with a tradition going back centuries before the Frankish version of Gregorian chant, why would they have written down their own distinct melodic tradition in an adaptation of the Frankish notation?

VI

We do not know when and where the first chant manuscript was notated. The oldest remaining chant manuscripts in which neumes original to the manuscript are employed throughout are generally dated to the tenth century: the Gradual Laon 239 with Messine neumes;[47] a Sacramentarium/Gradual written possibly in St. Pierre in Angers;[48] the Gradual Chartres 47, which was written somewhere in Brittany;[49] the Cantatorium St. Gall 359.[50] There are some fragments of chant manuscripts that may go back to the ninth century.[51]

[44] Huglo, "Le chant 'vieux-romain'. Liste des manuscrits et témoins indirects," *Sacris erudiri*, VI (1954), pp. 96–124; Stäblein, *Gesänge des altrömischen Graduale*, pp. 8*–30*.

[45] Jacques Hourlier and Michel Huglo, "Un important témoin du chant vieux-romain: le Graduel de Ste. Cécile du Trastévère," *Revue grégorienne*, XXXI (1952), pp. 26–37; Stäblein, *Gesänge des altrömischen Graduale*, pp. 25* ff. The manuscript is in the library of Dr. Martin Bodmer at Cologny, near Geneva.

[46] See Corbin, *Die Neumen*, p. 3.141.

[47] Facsimile edition in *Paléographie musicale*, Vol. X.

[48] Angers, Bibliothèque de la ville, 91 (83).

[49] *Paléographie musicale*, Vol. XI. The manuscript was destroyed in 1944.

[50] *Paléographie musicale*, II[e] série, Vol. II.

[51] Jammers, *Tafeln*, pp. 26–7, lists three fragments of "Kantorenhandschriften im strengen Sinne" (nos. 16–19 in his list). But numbers 16 and 17 seem to have been written in the 10th century (cf. Corbin, *Die Neumen*, pp. 3.28–9), and 18 (Leiden, University Library, Cod. 25, fol. 1[r]) needs further investigation. The troper Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 1240, and the Gradual Laon 239, listed by Jammers as numbers 19 and 20 of his sources of the 9th century, are evidently later. Cf. Heinrich Husmann, *Tropen- und Sequenzenhandschriften*, RISM, B IV/1 (Munich–Duisburg, 1964, pp. 137–9 (n. 19), and *Le Graduel romain*, II: *Les sources* (Solesmes, 1957), p. 99 (n. 20).

On the other hand, the five complete chant books that survive from the ninth century,[52] and three from the first half of the tenth century,[53] contain only texts or incipits of texts, and whatever neumes they contain were added later. Even if one wishes, despite this evidence, to suppose that there were in certain localities chant books with neumes as early as the ninth century, chant books without neumes were written at least until the tenth century. We must be able to explain the beginning of chant transmission in the Frankish Empire without assuming the use of neumes.[54] The appearance of increasing numbers of chant manuscripts with neumes in different places through the Empire in the tenth and eleventh centuries appears in a new light: since chant transmission in the Frankish Empire took place without neumes, the propagation of Gregorian chant in the Empire and the distribution of manuscripts with neumes are not the same phenomenon; they represent two different stages in the spread of the chant. The second stage (the distribution of manuscripts with neumes) may have begun as early as the ninth century. In the tenth century it was definitely under way, and by the eleventh century chant books with neumes were written in Germany and in Italy.

This does not mean that people began to sing from the books at once. The oldest chant books are very small: the Gradual Einsiedeln 121 measures 15.5 x 11 cm. (that is just about the size of a post card); the famous Codex Hartker from St. Gall, 22.2 x 16.7 cm.; the manuscript St. Gall 359, 28 x 12.5 cm.; the Gradual Graz 807, 23 x 15 cm.; and the largest of the oldest manuscripts, the Gradual Chartres 43, 29.5 x 21.5 cm. These manuscripts were too small for a choir to sing

[52] The manuscripts Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, Cod. lat. 10127/10144 ("Antiphonaire du Mont-Blandin"); Monza, Tesoro della Cattedrale ("Graduel" or better "Cantatorium de Monza"); Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, Cod. Rh. 30 ("Antiphonaire de Rheinau"); Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 17436 ("Antiphonaire de Compiègne"); Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, 111 ("Antiphonaire de Senlis"). All are published in Hesbert.

[53] The manuscripts Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 12050 ("Antiphonaire de Corbie"), published in Hesbert; Paris, private collection ("Antiphonaire de Mont Renaud" near Noyon), in which neumes were added later, published in *Paléographie musicale*, Vol. XVI; Laon, Bibliothèque municipale 118, Gradual-Sacramentarium-Lectionarium from Saint-Denis.

[54] I must correct my assumption in *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, XII (1955), p. 87: "Sowohl die Art und Weise, in der diese Redaktion (der römischen Melodien, die zur fränkischen Überlieferung führte) vorgenommen wurde, wie die erstaunliche Treue, in der beide Traditionen sich entsprechen, nachdem sie bereits lange Zeit getrennt voneinander weitergelebt haben, setzt schriftliche Überlieferung bereits zu der Zeit voraus, als sie auseinandergingen." Floros (*Universale Neumenkunde*, II, p. 233) took this assumption for an argument for the origin of neumes before the 9th century and in Rome.

from. They were small even for a cantor at the pulpit. They seem instead to be archive manuscripts, which may have served as a reference for the cantor and as a control against deviation from the true and venerable tradition.

The proposition that written tradition does not necessarily imply singing from a book may seem strange to us, at least outside the practice of popular music. In this context it is interesting to read what Jacques Goar, a French Dominican who from 1631 to 1637 lived on the island of Chios in the Aegean sea, tells about singing in Byzantine liturgy. In 1647 he commented about what he had seen and heard in Greek liturgical celebrations: "The Greeks have music books, but they rarely look at them while singing."[55] He also remarked: "The Greeks seldom sing from a book at the pulpit, and even more rarely do they conduct or teach singing with written notation at hand." According to Goar's account, one of the ministers, using a book, indicated phrase by phrase with his voice what was to be sung. In the pieces which were better known and more often sung the appropriate intervals were indicated by certain movements of the fingers, by a process called "cheironomy."[56]

VII

The chant books which the Romans sent to France at the request of the Franks must have been chant books without neumes. How then were the melodies transmitted? How did the Romans remember their melodies before the eleventh century? How did the Franks receive the melodies of the *cantus romanus*? How did they transmit the Frankish version of Gregorian chant before the written tradition began?

The problem is not entirely new. Even if we presume music writing to be much older (as in the traditional view) there must in any case have been a chant tradition still older. Scholars have always wondered how singers and even entire monastic communities remembered so many different melodies.

[55] "Libros notis musicis exaratos, inter cantandum rarissime conspiciunt, vel etiam habent Graeci." Jacques Goar, *Euchologion sive rituale Graecorum*, In officium Sancti Olei notae, 12 (Paris, 1647), p. 434.

[56] "Nam cum raro e libris in pulpito recitent Graeci, rariusque item musices notis exaratis cantum dirigant at instruant. Defectibus his consultum satis putaverunt, si minister quivis voce quae commode a reliquis audiretur, membratim per cola huic et alteri choro e libro suggereret, quicquid occurreret canendum: dum interim cantus notitia et usu magis insignes variis dextrae digitorumque motibus, contractione, inflexione, extensione etc. (*χειρογομία* vocavit Cedrenus in Theophilo) tanquam signis ad varias voces modulosque exprimendos uterentur." Goar, *Euchologion*, In ordinem Sacri Ministerii notae, 21 (Paris, 1647), p. 30.

Before there were neumes, it is claimed, there was cheironomy. But here the concept of cheironomy is different from what it was in Byzantine music according to Goar and others.[57] It was André Mocquereau (1849–1930) who adopted the term for his method of conducting Gregorian chant by "painting" melodic and rhythmic movement with somewhat casual gestures of the hand.[58] In addition he introduced the term "cheironomic neumes" for staffless neumes.[59] Obviously he did not know that the term had been used in Byzantine sources with a different meaning. Oskar Fleischer then developed the theory that the neumes originated in "cheironomic" conducting: at first the neumes were "written in the air," and later they began to be written down on parchment.[60] The belief arose that cheironomy was a medium of melodic transmission in an oral tradition, despite the difficulty of conceiving that cheironomic signs are easier to remember than the melodies themselves.

Fleischer's theory concerning the origin of neumatic notation from "cheironomy" is almost universally accepted today.[61] But there is not a shred of evidence for any connection between the neumes and conducting movements.[62] Cheironomy, as understood in Byzantine music, indicated precisely what "cheironomic neumes" do not: exact intervals. It was not a mode of transmission in oral tradition. Who gave the cheironomic signs to the conductor? The cantor could indicate by cheironomic signs only what he read from a book or what he knew better than the singers.

Solange Corbin, when she found herself confronted with the question of how Gregorian chant had been transmitted before neumes were developed, did not refer to cheironomy, but to Paolo Ferretti and his theory of "centonization."[63] Ferretti in his *Estetica gregoriana*[64] drew an analogy between chant melodies and cento poetry. In cento poetry, of which there are many examples in Gregorian chant texts,

[57] See Hucke, "Die Cheironomie und die Entstehung der Neumenschrift," *Die Musikforschung*, XXXII (1979), pp. 1–16.

[58] André Mocquereau, *Le nombre musical grégorien* (Rome and Tournai, 1908–27).

[59] *Paléographie musicale*, I (1889), pp. 96 ff.

[60] Oskar Fleischer, *Neumenstudien*, Teil I: *Über Ursprung und Entzifferung der Neumen* (Leipzig, 1895), pp. 25 ff.

[61] Cf., for example, *MGG*, III (1954), col. 537; Jammers, *Tafeln*, pp. 23 ff.; Stäblein, *Schriftbild der einstimmigen Musik*, Musikgeschichte in Bildern, III/4 (Leipzig, 1975), p. 28. Similarly for Byzantine neumes: Wellesz, *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography* (2nd ed., Oxford, 1961), p. 287.

[62] Hucke, "Cheironomie."

[63] Corbin, *L'église*, pp. 222 ff.

[64] Paolo Ferretti, *Estetica gregoriana ossia Trattato della forme musicali del canto gregoriano*, Vol. I [only this volume printed] (Rome, 1934).

parts of different literary sources (or different parts of the same source) are combined to form a new text with a new sense. According to Ferretti, Gregorian cantors would have worked the same way, composing new melodies from certain formulas. At one point he compares cento poetry with putting together a mosaic from single stones, and he refers also to the potpourri.[65]

But handling the stones of a mosaic and composing a cento are two different things, and a potpourri is something else again. A cento in literature, in which fragments of different, well defined texts are put together to form a new, meaningful literary unity, is not to be compared with melodies adapting melodic formulas. The analogy is the wrong one. The cento principle, as well as the potpourri, requires a fixed and written tradition. It cannot by any means explain an oral tradition.

It was Leo Treitler who put the problem in the context of research on oral tradition in literature (particularly Parry's and Lord's studies of oral transmission of epic poetry in Serbia, and of Homeric transmission), and of the psychology of remembering.[66]

VIII

Indeed, the features of oral tradition are evident in Gregorian melodies.

Example 1 shows two responsories of the Office (without their verse).[67] They are the first two in the cycle of responsories labelled "Historia Adam" which tells the story of the creation of man, his fall and his banishment from Paradise. The texts are centonized from the book of Genesis, chapters 1–3. In various manuscripts the cycle contains between nine and fourteen responsories that were sung in the matins of Septuagesima, i.e., the ninth Sunday before Easter, and the following week.

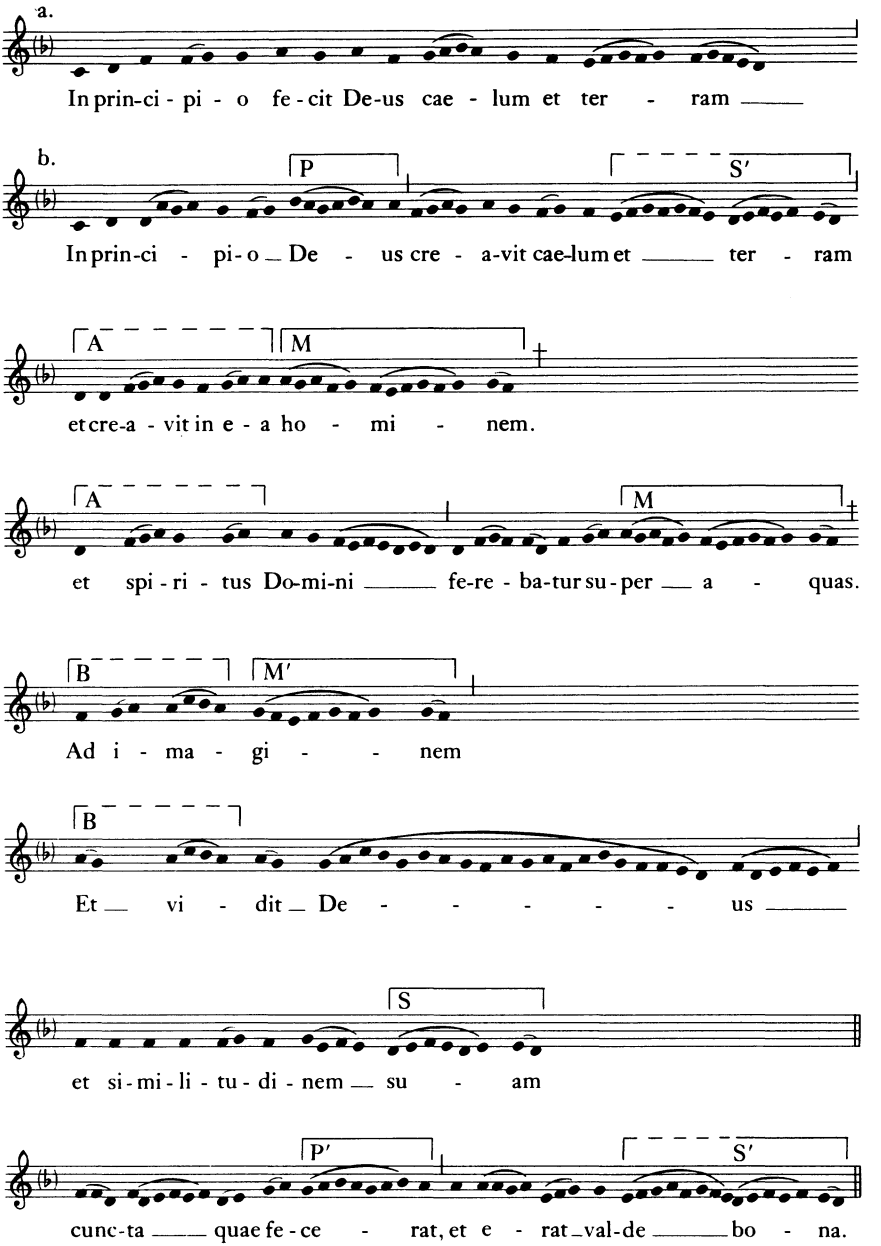
The two responsories begin with the same words. Both melodies are in the first mode and they move in single notes and short melismas

[65] "Tali centoni (in literature) erano veri mosaici letterari . . . I moderni potpourri altro non sono che centoni musicale" (p. 114). Cf. my critique of Ferretti in *Die Musikforschung*, XI (1958), p. 393.

[66] Treitler, "Homer and Gregory" (see n. 39 above); " 'Centonate' Chant: *Übles Flickwerk* or *E pluribus unus*?", this JOURNAL, XXVIII (1975), pp. 1–23; contribution to the Symposium "Peripherie und Zentrum in der Geschichte der ein- und mehrstimmigen Musik des 12.–14. Jahrhunderts," Gesellschaft für Musikforschung, *Bericht über den Internationalen Musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress Berlin 1974* (Kassel, 1980), pp. 58–74; "Observations on the Transmission of some Aquitanian Tropes," *Forum musicologicum*, II (forthcoming).

[67] From Lucca, Biblioteca capitolare, Codex 601 (*Paléographie musicale*, IX).

Example 1

Two responsories of the Office

a.
In prin-ci - pi - o fe - cit De-us cae - lum et ter - ram
b.
P
S'
In prin-ci - pi-o De - us cre - a-vit cae-lum et ter - ram
A
M
et cre-a - vit in e - a ho - mi - nem.
A
M
et spi - ri - tus Do-mi-ni fe-re - ba-tur su-per a - quas.
B
M'
Ad i - ma - gi - nem
B
Et vi - dit De - - - - - us
S
et si-mi-li - tu - di - nem su - am
P'
S'
cunc-ta quae fe - ce - rat, et e - rat val-de bo - na.

mainly in the space *defga*. In both, *c* is used as beginning tone; at high points the melodic movement stretches out to *b* and *c'*; in the second melody there is one long melisma on *Deus*. Clausulae are on *d* and *f*; in Example 1b there is twice an intermediate clausula on *a*. Twice the beginning of an internal phrase in both melodies is nearly the same (marked A, B). The clausula (M) before the beginning of the respective repetendas "Ad imaginem . . ." and "Et vidit . . .," which are repeated after the verse, is the same. In the Antiphoner of Lucca, from which these examples are taken, the beginning of the repetenda in the responsories is marked by a cross, and it seems that the melody up to the cross was sung by the cantor and at that point the schola began. The clausula (S) at the end of the melodies is also the same. In Example 1b this clausula is also sung at the end of the second phrase.

It seems striking that two responsories with similar texts, which are to be sung one after the other on the same day, have different melodies, but common formulas that are used sometimes at the same place and sometimes not. This raises the question of how the singers were able to keep the melodies distinct in their mind. It is a question precisely because the melodies are so similar, and because the melodic movement seems so equivocal and so undefined. And there are many more responsories in the first mode which are similar to these two.

The basic principle of composition in Gregorian chant is the division of the text into units defined by sense; the melodic phrases correspond to these text units. In Example 1a, the first phrase runs "In principio fecit Deus caelum et terram." In Example 1b there is a caesura: "In principio Deus / creavit caelum et terram." The caesura is evoked by the word *Deus*, and the remainder of the text is a complete sentence. If the beginning phrase of 1a were divided in a similar way ("In principio fecit Deus / caelum et terram"), the second phrase would be rather short and it would lack a verb. Now that would not be out of the question for Gregorian chant in general, and indeed there is such a case at the end of the same responsory: "Ad imaginem / et similitudinem suam." But in responsories the phrases are not usually so short. In any case 1a reflects a decision not to break the first sentence with a cadence, although to do so would have made the melodies 1a and 1b much more alike.

Apparently the difference in the beginnings of the two melodies is mainly a consequence of the different ways of dividing the text. Because the first phrase of 1b is shorter and leads immediately to a cadence on *Deus*, some musical accentuation at the very beginning is called for, and that is provided by the elaboration of "In principio." This elaboration evokes a corresponding second phrase "creavit cae-

lum et terram" and a weightier cadence. What will be the final cadence, S, is anticipated at the end of the second phrase of the responsory in such a way that the first two phrases seem like a motto.[68]

At the beginning of the following phrase (at A) the same internal initium is used in both melodies. It is adapted to the different number of syllables by a variable number of tones. In 1a the initium leads immediately to a clausula (M) which points to the following repetenda. In 1b the repetenda begins only at "Et vidit"; therefore one more cadence at "Domini" is required.

The first accented syllable in the repetenda (at B) has the same melisma in both melodies. The differences in the initia of the repetendas in 1a and 1b derive again from the different number of syllables, but the additional syllables in this case are treated in a way different from the initium A. In 1a there is a caesura after *imaginem*, marked by a shortened form of clausula M. The last phrase is treated very simply. There is no emphasis on the parallelism "imaginem-similitudinem"; "et similitudinem" is sung with recitation on one tone leading to the final melisma S. It is a feature to be found often in Gregorian chant, that at the end the melody becomes relatively simple and has a tendency to be formulaic. Example 1b is different. Its repetenda is not an adverbial modifier of the preceding text as in 1a, "according to this image and likeness," but rather it introduces an additional idea: "And God saw what he had made, and it was good." Therefore in 1b the repetenda is composed in a much more emphatic manner: *Deus* is given a long melisma, and even the following two phrases are more melismatic than is normal for a responsory. The penultimate cadence is once more on *a*, like the cadence of the beginning phrase.

Examples 1a and 1b are not different, individual melodies in a strict sense. They are documentations of a performance practice. In this practice certain formulas, especially cadential figures, are available for use; and some melismas may be inserted. The rest is a kind of florid recitation which may be now simpler, now more melismatic. Attention is paid to the beginning of the repetenda, but there is no general pattern, no typical layout for a responsory melody, and one finds hardly two responsories in which the melodic performance is exactly alike.

When the performance practice was written down, a fluid tradition had to be frozen into a fixed melodic form. The notator could not

[68] I mean this in the sense of the opening of a "Devisenarie."

write down the rules for singing the melodies, he had to exemplify them by following one cantor or one authority. By this hypothesis a puzzling problem of Gregorian chant is clarified: that there is a larger number of melodies for the schola than for the cantor. Can it be that greater demands were laid on the memory of the singers in the schola than on that of the soloists? There must be another explanation for the multitude of "original" melodies for the schola and the paucity of "typical" melodies for the cantor. The cantor could command a more complex system of rules and performance procedures than could the schola. In writing down the melodies of the cantor, the notator was far more constrained by the rules than he would have been in writing down the melodies of the schola. He would therefore have written out fewer and more uniform melodies for the cantor. For the melodies of the schola he would have given examples of how they could artfully be sung. The appearance of the repertories in the manuscripts is deceptive. With the notated melodies for the cantor we are probably closer to what was sung because the notator was more closely guided by rules and principles. The breadth in the repertory for the schola reflects not so much a richness in its practice as the play of the notator's fancy under lesser constraints.

IX

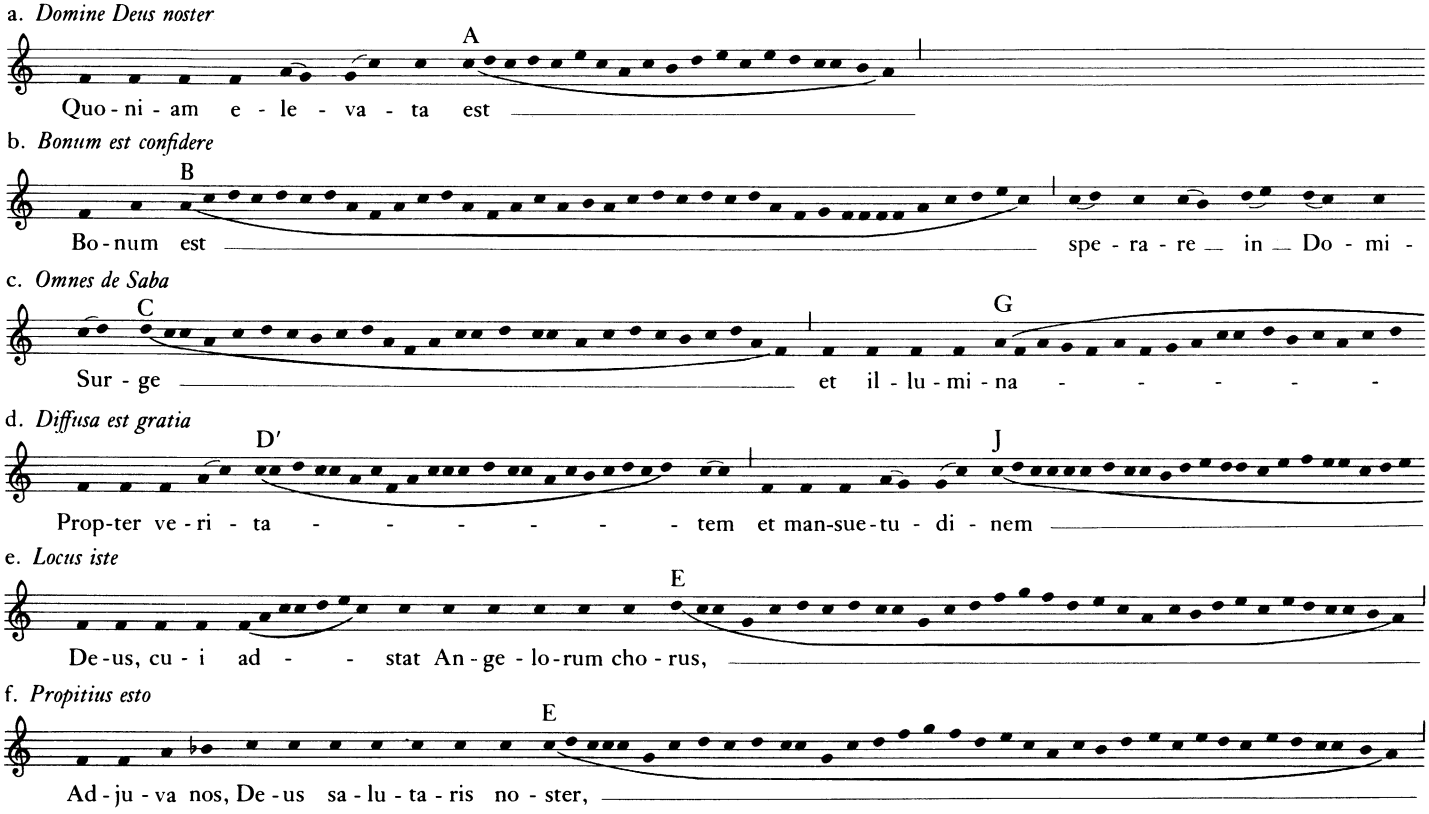
Example 2 shows six Gradual verses in the fifth mode.[69] The Gradual verses were sung by the cantor. Unlike the responsories of the Office, they follow a general pattern: each phrase ends with a melisma or a group of melismas, and the verse has at least three phrases.

Example 2a is an example of a "normal" Gradual verse. As in the responsories, the text is divided into sense units. The verse has three phrases, the first and the last one ending with long melismas (A, Q), the second one with a series of melismas (K). In 2b the first text phrase "Bonum est" is very short. There would have been other possibilities of text arrangement: an opening phrase "Bonum est sperare in Domino" would have been somewhat long. But with "Bonum est sperare / in Domino / quam sperare / in principibus" perfect parallelism could have been obtained, and the word *sperare* would have been accentuated. The notator preferred to place the accent on "Bonum est" by separating it as an opening phrase. Again he obtained a kind of motto. This way of handling the beginning is especially typical of Gradual verses; it seems to be one of the principles of performing them.

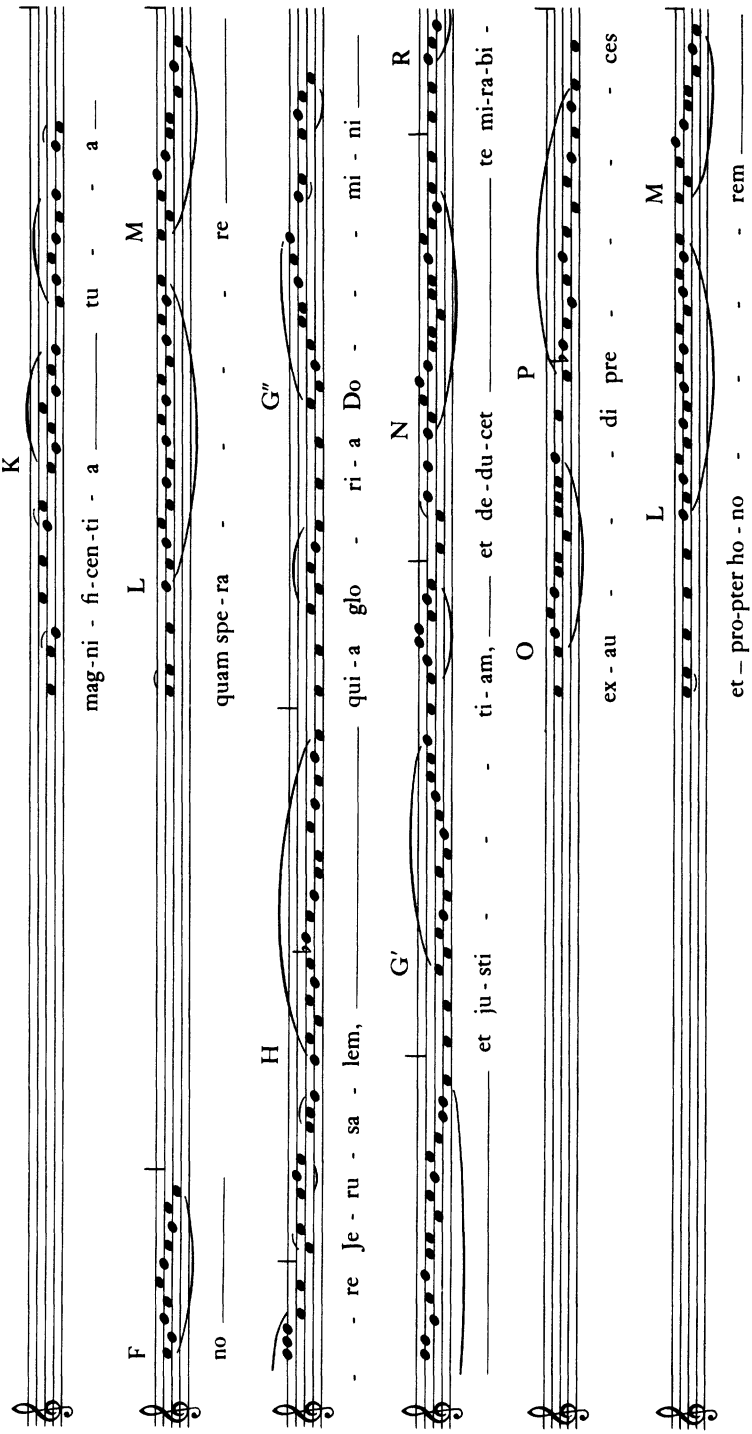
[69] All examples from *Graduale romanum*.

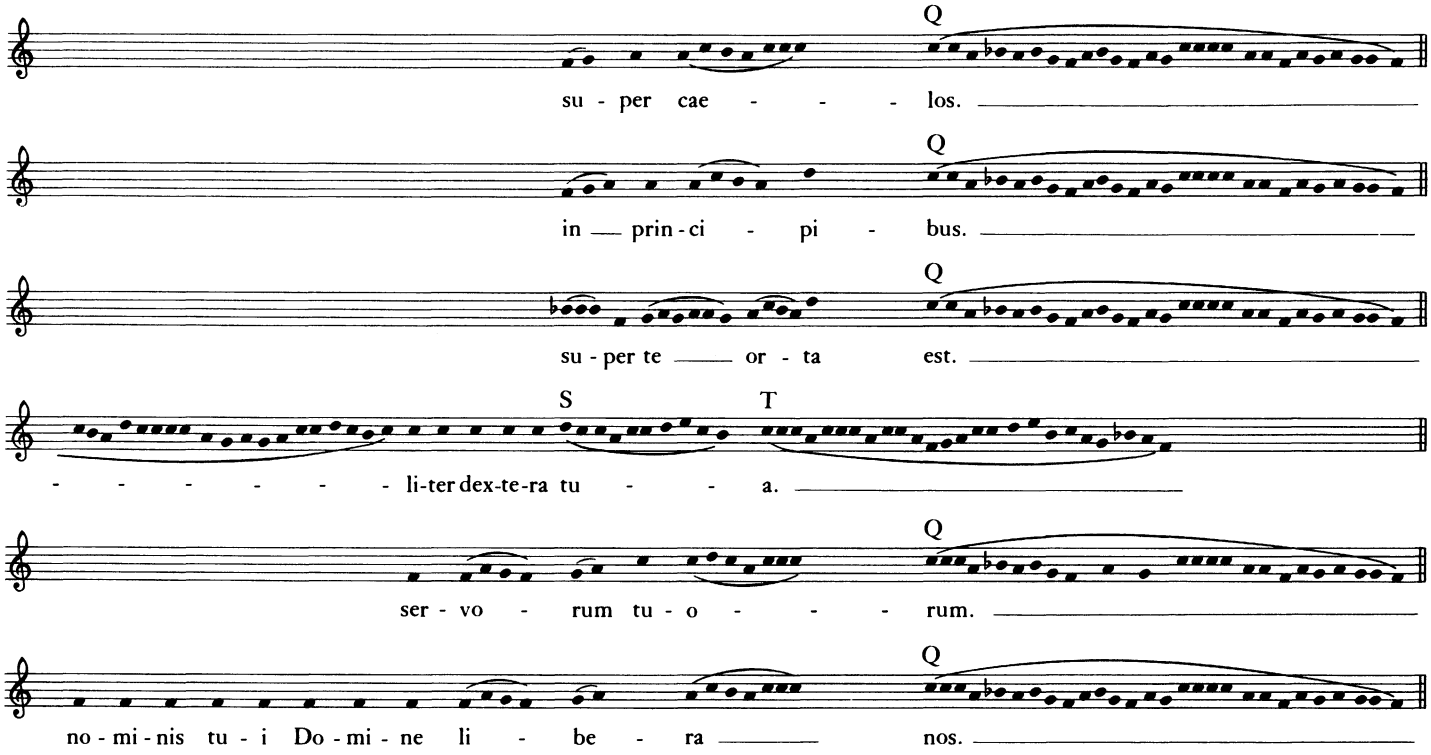
Example 2

Verses of six Graduals


a. Domine Deus noster
A
Quo - ni - am e - le - va - ta est
b. Bonum est confidere
B
Bo - num est
spe - ra - re in Do - mi -
c. Omnes de Saba
C
G
Sur - ge
et il - lu - mi - na
d. Diffusa est gratia
D'
J
Prop-ter ve - ri - ta
tem et man-sue-tu - di - nem
e. Locus iste
E
De - us, cu - i ad
stat An - ge - lo-rum cho - rus,
f. Propitius esto
E
Ad - ju - va nos, De - us sa - lu - ta - ris no - ster,

Example 2 (continued)


K
mag-ni - fi-cen-ti - a ——— tu - - - a —
F
L
M
no ——— quam spe-ra - - - - re ———
H
G″
- - re Je - ru - sa - lem, ——— qui - a glo - ri - a Do - - - - mi - ni ———
G′
N
R
——— et ju - sti - - - ti - am, ——— et de-du-cet ——— te mi-ra-bi -
O
P
ex - au - - - di pre - - - - - ces
L
M
et – pro-pter ho - no - - - - rem ———

Example 2 (continued)

This is confirmed by Example 2c, where the first phrase of the Gradual verse is comprised by the word *Surge* alone. In this case, the parallelism "Surge / et illuminare" provoked an unusual melisma G at the beginning of the second phrase, with the main caesura still to come at *Jerusalem*. This requires adequate treatment, and therefore again a large melisma, H. After this departure from the normal track for the performance of a Gradual verse, the anomaly continues with the establishing of a melodic relationship between "illuminare" and "gloria Domini" (melisma G″). The last phrase is different from that of 2a and 2b, but it is one of the typical final phrases of Gradual verses of the fifth mode.

The text of 2d begins in an unusual way, with an enumeration: "Propter veritatem, et mansuetudinem, et justitiam . . ." Here the decision was to follow the structure of the text, and not the three-part form, by applying the long melismas D, J, G′ to the words *veritatem*, *mansuetudinem*, *justitiam*, one notes the character and variability of melisma G as an auxiliary melisma for special purposes in Gradual verses of the fifth mode. We do not know why the melisma in *veritatem* and *justitiam* is placed on the stressed syllable and in *mansuetudinem* on the last syllable. There seems to be no rule that every melisma is to be sung on a stressed syllable, but melismas are generally sung either on the stressed syllable or on the last syllable. In 2d the second part, "et deducet te," was treated similarly to the first part, and the result is a Gradual verse with an extraordinary form.

If the beginning of 2e had been articulated "Deus / cui adstat angelorum chorus," the result would have been similar to 2c, and to the verse of the Gradual "Tribulationes," which begins "Vide / humilitatem meam . . .". There is a verse beginning "Domine / refugium . . ." (in the Gradual "Convertere Domine") and one beginning "Domine / libera anima mea . . ." (in "Ad Dominum"), but in verses beginning with the word *Deus* this word is never treated as a two-syllable motto. Making a stop after "Deus cui adstat" would not produce a coherent first phrase. Allowance had to be made for an unusually long phrase. The text is performed by simple tenor recitation, and to articulate the long recitation a melisma was applied at *adstat*. The beginning of this verse looks similar to the first part of a psalm tone, but thereafter the usual pattern of a Gradual is followed.

At the beginning of Example 2f one would have expected the phrasing "Adjuva nos Deus / salutaris noster." However, these words from Psalm 78:9 are familiar in liturgical tradition as a versicle to which the response is "Et propter honorem nominis tui Domine libera nos"—the same text as that of the continuation of this Gradual

verse.[70] Probably the notator hesitated to make a caesura in a text which was familiar to him as a liturgical formula. (The melody for the versicle could not be used in the Gradual verse, of course, because the conventional ways of singing Gradual verses were different from those for versicles and responses.) He decided to take a more neutral course: he began the Gradual verse like a psalm tone, providing it with an intonation, recitation on a tenor, and—as a kind of mediant cadence—a long melisma, the same as the one used in the opening phrase of 2e.

At this point he had solved only half of the problem; how would he treat the remainder of the verse? One possibility would have been to continue using a psalm tone as a model, and to set the second part of the text in a way that paralleled the treatment of the first. But this would have entailed a complete departure from the usual plan for Gradual verses; when the soloist came to the end of such an unusual verse, how would the choir find its pitch for the beginning of the repeat of the responsory? A return to the traditional style of Gradual verses was clearly necessary.

There were two possible ways of phrasing the text that remained. The first was: "Et propter honorem nominis tui Domine / libera nos." In this phrasing, the last part would be rather short; but that is also the case in 2a, 2b, and 2e. The problem would be the first part, because that would be much longer than the penultimate phrase of a Gradual verse usually is. A way of dealing with that might have been to treat the beginning of the phrase as recitation on a tenor. Actually, there is a Gradual verse in which the penultimate phrase is set up just that way, with recitation on a tenor followed by two melismas: Example 2b. Thus the words "Et propter honorem nominis tui Do-" could have been recited on *c*, with "-mine" set to the melismas L and M. Given the text setting of the first part of the verse, that might have seemed a logical way to continue.

A second possibility would have been to phrase the text as follows: "Et propter honorem / nominis tui Domine / libera nos." Had that been done, "et propter honorem" would have been treated as an intermediate phrase—like "sperare in Domino" in 2b—and the penultimate phrase would have been made up by the words "nominis tui domine." But the notator took still another way. Was it perhaps because the verse had begun in an unusual manner? The notator seems

[70] According to the antiphonary Ivrea, Biblioteca capitolare, 106, for example, this versicle and response are to be sung before the absolutions and blessings at Matins, and after the hymns of the Little Hours and Vespers every Thursday of the year. See *Corpus antiphonalium officii*, ed. R.-J. Hesbert, Vol. I: *Manuscripti "Cursus romanus"* (Rome, 1963), n. 41.

to have felt that he should return without further deviations to a pattern familiar in Gradual verses. For the setting of "et propter honorem" he made use of an unambiguous formula, one associated with penultimate phrases, which ends in the melismas L and M. The resulting phrasing is unfortunate: "Et propter honorem / nominis tui Domine libera nos." Yet once the musical material of the penultimate phrase has been stated, the final musical phrase must follow directly; there is no possibility of an intermediate phrase. For the beginning of this last phrase, he uses recitation on a tenor, the very device he avoided at the beginning of the second phrase. Here, as an introduction to the final melisma, recitation on a tenor was a familiar stylistic device at the time when Gregorian chant was being written down: we have found the same phenomenon in Example 1a.

In the Gradual verses such recitation seems to be related to a change in performance practice. Originally the responsory was repeated after the verse. But it took time to repeat the responsory; and therefore instead of repeating the responsory, the choir joined the soloist at the end of his verse. The rounding up, accentuation and standardizing of the terminal phrase in Gradual verses seems to be connected with this change in performance.

These examples suggest that in performing a Gradual verse a cantor had a general pattern to follow, and certain rules to observe with respect to the text. But there were opportunities for him to demonstrate his artistry in the way that he accommodated each individual text to the general pattern. The more the text was understood by the cantor as deflecting from the normal pattern, the more he was to make decisions of his own about how to sing it. The notation of the solo parts of Gregorian chant gives an impression of patterns and rules; it reflects decisions made by the notator, but at the same time suggests that different decisions would have been possible. It gives an idea of how notators may have written down the same piece in different ways, and how one notator would have possibly written down the melody if he had followed another authority, or if his authority had changed his mind.

X

Example 3 shows the Introit "In nomine Domini" in Frankish Gregorian, Roman Gregorian, and Ambrosian or Milanese transmission.[71]

[71] F from *Graduale romanum;* R from Rome, Biblioteca vaticana, lat. 5319 (Monumenta monodica medii aevi, II); M from London, British Library, Add. 34209 (*Paléographie musicale*, V–VI).

The three versions sometimes differ considerably, while at other times one corresponds nearly note for note to another. Consider for example the phrase "quia Dominus factus obediens." R corresponds closely to F, but the first few notes are one degree lower. At "Ideo Dominus Jesus Christus" there seems to be the same initium in all three versions, but on different degrees. At the end of this phrase at "Christus" there seems to be the same clausula in three different forms. The same phenomena appears at the end of the last phrase, at "Dei Patris."

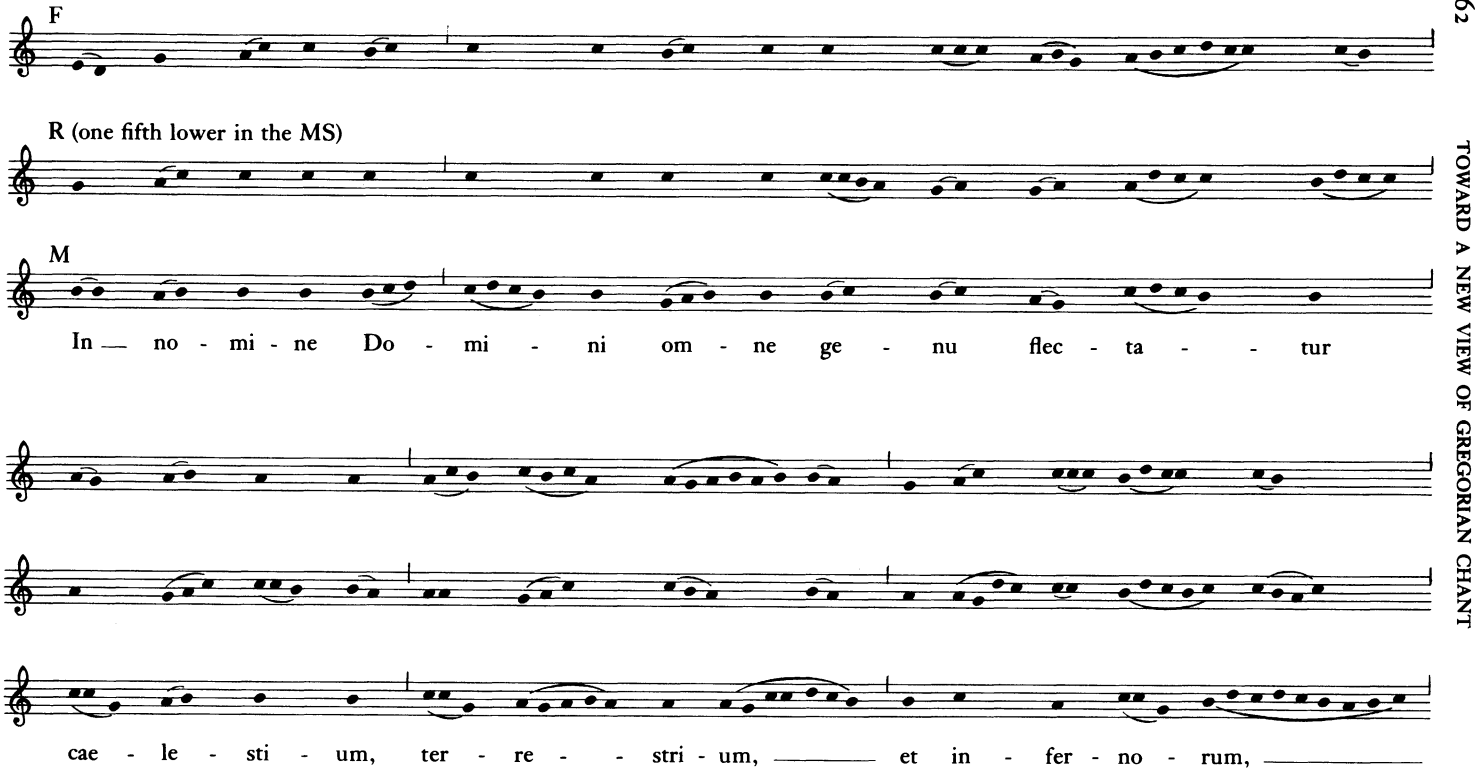
Let us compare F and R first. The beginning of the melody shows two ways of beginning an Introit or an antiphon of the Office in the third mode. Both ways, the initium *ed g ac* and the initium *g ac*, are found in both Frankish and Roman chant. The choice made in this example in R is evidently connected with the fact that this version at the end reaches a higher register than that in F. For the same reason this version was notated a fifth lower. In the second phrase in R there is a melodic correspondence between *caelestium* and *terrestrium* which F does not show. In the latter the melody leads to a slightly emphasized ending "et infernorum." This gives F a different declamation of the same words. Both settings fall within the norms for the performance of an Introit antiphon. In this sense the difference here is of the same order as the differences between the two responsories in Example 1.

At "usque ad mortem" R still follows F closely, but at "mortem autem crucis" it moves into a different register, and from the beginning of the following phrase R lies a fourth higher than F. But it is F which changes its register by descending to *e*, apparently in response to the words "mortem autem crucis." The R version shows no response to that change. Perhaps it was considered contrary to the rules, or there was a different idea about how to interpret the words. In any case R follows a different melodic track, but remains closely related to the progress of F. This kind of partial transposition in a melody is a phenomenon quite often to be found in comparing Frankish and Roman versions of Gregorian melodies. Sometimes it seems to be a copyist's error, sometimes it seems that an extraordinary progression of a melody was considered as a mistake.

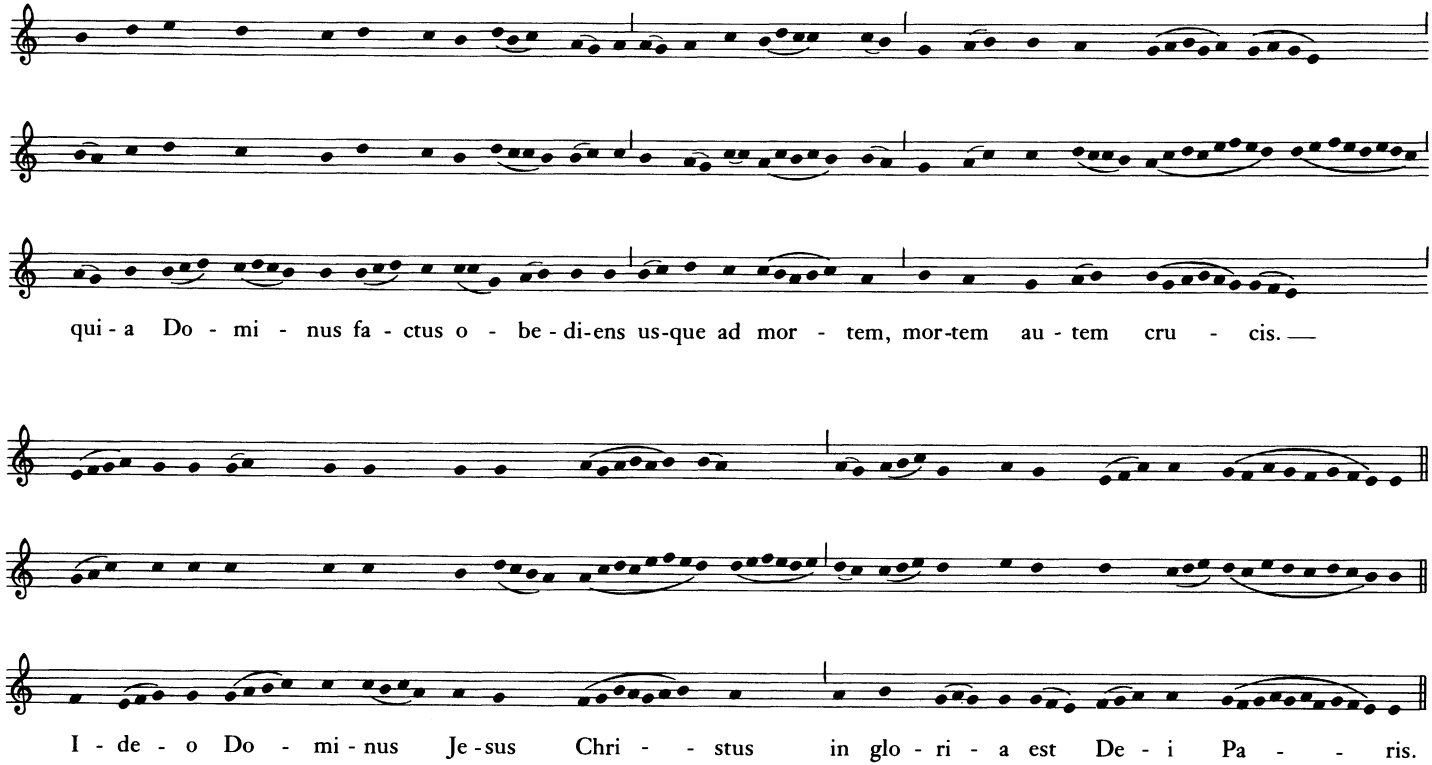
The beginning of the Milanese version of the Introit differs from the Frankish and Roman versions in its recitation tone *b*, which is familiar in Milanese chant tradition. At "caelestium, terrestrium et infernorum" the formal idea in Milan is similar to that in Rome, but the details are different. Then the Milanese version returns to the central tone *b*. In moving to the lower register at "mortem autem crucis" and for the rest of the melody, it follows closely the Frankish version,

Example 3

The introit "In nomine Domini" in Frankish Gregorian (F), Roman Gregorian (R), and Ambrosian or Milanese (M) transmission



Example 3 (continued)



possibly because this change in register was unusual and there was not a ready model for it in the Milanese tradition.

The relationship between Frankish Gregorian, Roman Gregorian, and Ambrosian chant shows features that seem to be characteristic of early written tradition. That is, it suggests both direct copying and the translation of melodies from one tradition into another. When the Romans and the Milanese copied the Frankish books, they were still accustomed to their oral tradition. They still did not regard the Frankish melodies as canonized compositions, to be adopted tone by tone, but as products of a performance practice, to be translated into their own tradition and manner of singing.

XI

I shall now try to sketch a new historical view of Gregorian chant. As patristic literature increases in quantity in the fourth and fifth centuries, there are many references in it to singing. Of the various kinds of singing to which reference is made, two seem particularly important. In the monasteries, the monks sang psalms one after another; as each sang, the others listened, and after each psalm they prayed together. And in the liturgical celebrations of communities, every lesson was followed by a responsorial psalm sung by a psalmista or cantor or lector; to it the whole community responded with a refrain. This kind of singing was familiar everywhere from the Orient to Gaul, and from Northern Africa to Milan. It may well derive from Jewish tradition.

A third kind of singing spread from Syria all over Christianity in the fourth century, in connection with the dispute between Arians and Orthodox: "antiphonal" singing, which then meant singing of psalms and hymns by a choir in processions, the people responding with refrains.

In the sixth century the picture looks different. In the *Regula Sancti Benedicti*, instead of the *psalmus responsorius* after every lesson there is a responsory. And instead of monks singing the psalms one by one there is choir psalmody with "antiphons": a kind of adaptation of the processional singing of the fourth century to meditation psalmody in the Office. The advantage is evident: the whole monastic community takes part in the Office of the psalms, and every Old Testament psalm is transposed into Christian revelation by the text of the antiphon. St. Benedict's order of the Office, including its musical layout, together with Roman liturgy, spread all over the Occident.

In the seventh century the order of the Mass and its musical forms—except the Tract, and possibly the Alleluia and the Of-

fertory—appears to have been fully developed at the papal court. There are processional songs with antiphons, Introit and Communion, reminiscent of antiphonal processional singing in the fourth century. And there is the *responsorium graduale* instead of the old *psalmus responsorius*, as in the Office of St. Benedict, after the lesson.

When the Franks, beginning with King Pepin and definitely by command of Charlemagne, adopted the liturgy of the papal court as "the Roman liturgy," chant received an importance and meaning which to our knowledge it had never had before. Before then it seems that every church had its own tradition and its own music. But now, chant became a sign of unity, of the right tradition of liturgy, of faith itself. To be sure, the term *cantus romanus* as used by the Franks in the eighth and ninth centuries means a certain liturgical order of certain liturgical texts. But so much of it was to be sung that the whole order was called *cantus*. That does not yet mean certain melodies to be sung in a certain manner, but it does mean at least the necessity of dealing with the music of *cantus romanus*, its customs and laws, and its manners of performance.

What did the Franks really take over from the music of Roman chant? What was the relationship between Frankish Gregorian chant and Roman Gregorian chant in the ninth century? The Franks certainly did not produce new melodies at random. They evidently adopted more than the liturgical order and the texts of the chant of the papal court as sung by the Roman schola cantorum. Because they felt the need for some system of organizing all the melodies and rules of singing, and because of their interest in going back to the authorities of antiquity, they developed the system of the church modes, and together with the church modes they developed the system of the eight psalm tones, with its implications for the recitation of the Office. But the very fact that there is no system behind the allocation of chants of different modes to certain offices indicates that the Franks followed Roman musical tradition in spite of their church-mode system. What is more, it seems that chants provided for new feasts introduced in the second half of the eighth century were not entirely new, but were adaptations of existing melodies to new texts. Specific melodic tradition therefore seems to go back to that time even without evidence of written tradition.

The systematization according to church modes took place at an early stage of chant propagation in France: every piece of chant had to be classified modally, to have a tone assigned to it, before its melody was written down. The first chant books, after the books containing only the texts, were "tonaries," which listed the chants according to their tone.

The manuscripts with neumes represent only a second stage of propagation of chant in the Frankish Empire and beyond its limits, and the first manuscripts are to be regarded not as books to sing from, but as archive books, to be used for reference by the cantor teaching the schola and for regulation of the oral tradition. Chant melodies as they appear in the manuscripts are to be understood and interpreted differently, depending on whether they are melodies of the cantor or of the schola (the melodies of the community, of course, present still different problems).

The Old Roman version of Gregorian chant was written down in the eleventh century, in notation borrowed from middle Italian sources of the Frankish version of Gregorian chant. This development was evidently related to, perhaps provoked by, the advance of the Frankish version in Italy, connected with the spreading of the reform of Cluny; and by Rome's recovering and gaining new self-consciousness after centuries of decay, a process culminating in the reign of Pope Gregory VII (1073–85).

About a century later, the church of Milan wrote down its chant tradition. It was then that Milan, at the head of the Lombard towns, made its appearance as a political force in its own right between the Emperor and the Pope. The copyists of Ambrosian chant worked in a way different from their Roman colleagues: they had a distinct liturgical order, which they maintained. They developed, on the basis of northern Italian neumes, a notation of their own; and they adopted some Frankish Gregorian melodies, putting them in several places in their liturgy. It would be interesting to know how far the Milanese and also the Roman versions of Frankish Gregorian melodies are within the limits of realization by the singers producing the Frankish version, for example in northern Italy, in central Italy, and in other places.

The uniformity of melodic transmission of Gregorian chant books does not prove uniformity of musical practice. A fundamental change of conception was needed before what had been written down at the beginning of the written tradition was understood, as it is in the current historical view of Gregorian chant, as a collection of melodies. This new understanding may have been furthered by the fixing of the different traditions in Rome and Milan; by the elaboration of "reformed" editions of Gregorian chant within the Frankish tradition by the Cistercians, Carthusians and Dominicans in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; and by the development of polyphony. The increase in size of the chant books from the small manuscripts of the tenth century to large choirbooks is to be regarded in this context.

The new historical view of Gregorian chant that I have proposed solves some problems which had not been solved by the old view. But it leaves many questions unanswered and it poses new problems. It is a challenge for further research.

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